

ADDITIONAL NOTES

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CONSTANTINE LIPS

Macridy's account of Constantine Lips, the founder of the monastery (*supra*, p. 255 f.), is in need of some rectification. The following biographical particulars may be taken for granted: that Constantine undertook three successive missions to Armenia, at which time he held the post of δομέστικος τῆς ὑπουργίας; that he was then, or shortly thereafter, old enough to have a nubile daughter who married an Armenian prince named Abu Ghanim (Apoganem); that the dedication of Constantine's monastery was attended by the Emperor Leo VI (pseudo-Symeon places this event in 908); that Constantine was implicated in the unsuccessful revolt of Constantine Ducas (913), but was subsequently pardoned; finally, that he was killed, fighting the Bulgarians, in 917.

The three missions to Armenia cannot, unfortunately, be dated with any accuracy, except that they probably occurred during the first decade of the tenth century. The date given by Macridy (901) has nothing to support it. Adontz expressed the view that these embassies took place between 898 and 900,¹ but in a later study he postponed these events to 909.² Neither of these dates can stand the test of criticism.³ There is a further difficulty: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in referring to Lips *à propos* of his first mission to Armenia, adds by way of explanation: ὁ νῦν ἀνθύπατος, πατρίκιος καὶ μέγας ἑταιριάρχης.⁴ Since chapter forty-three of the *De administrando imperio*, in which this passage occurs, was composed in 952 and Constantine Lips, as we have seen, died in 917, the imperial author must have made a mistake. Runciman⁵ tries to circumvent the difficulty by suggesting that the explanatory clause refers to the patrician Bardas Lips, who took part in a conspiracy in 961⁶ and whom he supposes to have been Constantine's son. A more obvious explanation would be that Constantine VII is here reproducing a document written before 917, forgetting to make the necessary adjustment: for other instances of verbatim quotations from old documents leading to anachronisms, see *De adm. imp.*, chaps. 45/117, 50/120. If our explanation is accepted, we may further

¹ *Byzantion*, IX (1934), p. 733.

² *Byzantion*, X (1935), p. 534.

³ Cf. Sir Steven Runciman in *De administrando imperio, Commentary*, ed. by R. J. H. Jenkins (London, 1962), p. 163.

⁴ *De adm. imp.*, chap. 43/44.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

⁶ Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II, p. 342.

conclude that Constantine Lips and not his son bore the titles of proconsul and grand hetaeriarch.

As for the date of the dedication of the monastery, Prof. R. J. H. Jenkins kindly informs me that it probably took place in June 907, rather than 908. This event is recorded immediately after the election of the Patriarch Euthymius (Feb. 907) and before the coronation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (May 908)⁷ in a sequence that appears to be strictly chronological.

There remains one intractable text. The so-called *Patria* asserts that "the monastery of Lips was erected in the days of Romanus the Elder and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, son of Leo [i.e. 920–944], by the patrician Lips who served as drungarius of the fleet."⁸ Since this conflicts with all our other evidence, and since Constantine Lips is not otherwise known to have been drungarius of the fleet, we are justified in rejecting the testimony of the *Patria*, a work of notorious inaccuracy.

THE FOUNDER'S INSCRIPTION

The inscription (Mango-Hawkins fig. 1) is carved on a bevelled cornice that runs along the exterior of the three central apses of the north church. The letters, which were originally inlaid with lead, are 9 cm. high. When complete, the total length of the inscription must have been very nearly 13.90 m., which is the figure one obtains by adding up the width of the sides of the three apses.⁹ A length of 13.90 m. is equivalent to about 290 letter spaces, so that the preserved portion accounts for about one half of the original.

Although the inscription has been published many times,¹⁰ some of its peculiarities have remained unobserved. Two heretofore unknown fragments were found in 1962 more or less where they fell: the first reads ΝΤΙΝΟC:, thus completing the founder's name; the second, which presumably fitted at the very end of the portion still preserved *in situ*, reads ΑΘΗΤΑΙΤ. Omitting some damaged traces of letters that we are unable to interpret,¹¹ we obtain the following text:

 ----- ἐ]κ πόθου. †
 Μητρί θεοῦ νεών περικαλλέα Κωνσταντίνος
 ----- ον ὄλβιον ἔργον
 5 οὐρανίων φαέων οἰκήτορα καὶ πολιοῦχον
 τὸν δείξον, πανάχραντε, προαίρεσιν ἀντιμετροῦσα. †
 Ναὸς τὸ δῶρον, ὧ μαθηταὶ τ -----

⁷ Georgius Monachus, Bonn ed., p. 866.

⁸ *Script. orig. Constant.*, ed. by Preger, II, p. 289.

⁹ It is clear that the inscription could not have continued round the apses of the two outer chapels.

¹⁰ Patriarch Constantius I, Κωνσταντινιάς παλαιά τε καὶ νεωτέρα, 2nd ed. (Constantinople, 1844), p. 105; A. G. Paspates, Βυζαντινὰ μελέται (Constantinople, 1877), p. 323; Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892), p. 72; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), p. 131; Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), p. 219.

¹¹ The bottom part of a few letters is visible on the central side of the diaconicon apse as well as at a short distance following the preserved end of the inscription on the prothesis apse.

The general meaning is clear enough: Constantine dedicated a church to the Mother of God; may she, in return, secure him citizenship in heaven. The inscription is made up of three separate parts or stanzas separated from one another by a cross,¹² whereas the end of each verse is marked, as usual, by three dots placed vertically one over the other. Now, the curious thing is that whereas the first and third stanzas—they must have been distichs, to judge by the available space—were iambic, the middle one is in hexameter. The explanation of this anomaly is perhaps that the inscription should be regarded as comprising three distinct poems, rather than three stanzas of one poem. Is it not possible that the church of Constantine Lips had a multiple dedication (as, e.g., the Nea Ekklesia built by Basil I), and that each poem was addressed to a different celestial patron or patrons? Seeing that there were probably three altars in the north church (counting the two outer chapels), this is indeed a reasonable supposition. Now, the third “poem,” if we have correctly placed the loose fragment, is addressed to “disciples,” i.e., to the apostles. When complete, it may have read something like

Ναὸς τὸ δῶρον, ὧ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Λόγου,
ἑταιριάρχου τοῦ Λιβὸς φερωνύμου.]

If this interpretation is correct, we may further suggest that the north chapel was dedicated to the apostles.

THE TYPICON AND THE TOMBS

In his edition of the Typicon, Delehaye is content to imply that this document was composed between 1282 (in which year Michael VIII died) and 1304, which he takes to be the date of the Empress Theodora's death.¹³ It seems, however, that she died on March 4, 1303.¹⁴ Moreover, one source suggests that Theodora's Typicon was composed several years before that date. Theodore Metochites' unpublished *Dirge* on the Dowager Empress,^{14a} pronounced in the Lips Monastery while she was lying in state there, informs us that Theodora had made arrangements for her burial, had had her tomb built, and had composed “written petitions” (i.e., the Typicon?) “not a few years” before her death.^{14b}

Theodora had three daughters, Irene, Anna, and Eudocia. Irene was married in 1278 to the Bulgarian king Ivan III Asen who was, however, overthrown in

¹² Owing to a slight miscalculation, the second cross had to be amputated when the blocks on which the inscription had been carved were fitted into place. Kollwitz (*Röm. Quartalschrift*, XLII [1934], p. 244) erroneously takes this as evidence that the inscribed cornice was reassembled during a later reconstruction of the building.

¹³ *Deux typica byzantins*, p. 175.

¹⁴ A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, Diss. (Munich, 1938), No. 1.

^{14a} Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδώρα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως μητρὶ, *Vindobonensis Phil. Graecus* 95, fols. 179r–189r. We owe this reference to Prof. I. Ševčenko.

^{14b} *Ibidem*, fol. 184v: σὺ μὲν γε πρότερον οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν ἐσκευάζου, καὶ μνήματά σοι, καὶ περιταφίους στέγας οἱ [read: ἡ] δὴ νομίζεται, καὶ ἑπιπλά κατατύμβια καὶ δεήσεις ἐν γράμμασι, καὶ τί γὰρ οὐ τῶν εἰωθότων; καὶ πάντ' ἐπιφρόνεις πρὸς τὴν τελευτήν.

1280 and came to live with his family in Constantinople.¹⁵ The date of Irene's death is not known, but she lived long enough to have ten children, to become a grandmother, and to die "in the middle of old age."¹⁶ Anna, the second daughter, was married in November 1278¹⁷ to Demetrius (renamed Michael) Kutrules, son of Michael II of Epirus.¹⁸ She died a few years before 1301, when her widowed husband married the daughter of the Bulgarian prince Terterij.¹⁹ As for the third daughter, Eudocia, she was married in 1281 to the emperor of Trebizond, John II Comnenus. After the latter's death she came to Constantinople in 1298, but returned to Trebizond in 1301 and died there on December 13, 1302.²⁰ There is every reason to believe that she was buried at Trebizond.²¹

The Typicon specifies that two of Theodora's daughters were still alive at the time of writing (p. 129 : δύο δὲ αὐταὶ τῷ βίῳ περιελείφθησαν), while one had already been buried in the monastery (p. 130_g). The latter then could have been either Irene or Anna, but certainly not Eudocia. Now, as we have said (*supra*, p. 270), the Typicon indicates the location of only two of the tombs, that of the dead daughter and the one that was destined for Theodora and her mother (who was also called Eudocia). The indications of the Typicon point to the two arcosolium tombs in the south aisle of the south church: the west one must have been the daughter's, the east one Theodora's.

The niches of both tombs were decorated with mosaics. The tesserae, however, have for the most part fallen down, leaving areas of setting bed. We have been able to discern the following details:

East niche: In the middle of the back wall was a standing figure, presumably that of the Empress Theodora, her hands folded over her breast. Mango-Hawkins figure 2 shows the outlines visible on the remaining patch of setting bed: the traces left by the darker cubes have been touched up with soluble pigment. The garments appear to have been decorated with jewels, to judge by a number of large, round cavities. The hands were executed in extremely fine tesserae. On either side of the figure was a long inscription: thirteen lines may be made out against the orange underpainting to the right of the figure, and at least three to the left. Unfortunately, the inscription is completely illegible. On the reveal of the arcosolium arch there appears to have been a band of ornament, judging by faint traces of curving lines.

West niche: There remains only one small area of setting bed (about 0.90 m.

¹⁵ Cf. C. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague, 1876), p. 279.

¹⁶ Ducange, *Familiae augustae byzantinae* (Paris, 1680), p. 325, speaks of Irene's seven children. Cf. however, Manuel Philes, Epitaph τῇ βασιλίδι Ἀσάνινῃ θυγατρὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ed. by M. Gedeon, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, III (1882-1883), pp. 249-250: καὶ φιλότατων δεκάδι κοσμεῖ τὸν βίον . . . παῖδας δὲ παίδων ἡδέως ἀθρήσασα . . . τέθνηκε, φεῦ, τέθνηκεν εἰς γῆρας μέσον.

¹⁷ Cf. Grumel in *Echos d'Orient*, XXIV (1925), p. 323; Dölger, *Regesten*, No. 2032.

¹⁸ Ducange, *Fam. aug. byz.*, p. 209; *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae*, ed. by M. Treu (Breslau, 1890), p. 229.

¹⁹ Pachymeres, II, p. 304: τὴν συνοικοῦσαν πρὸ χρόνων ἀποβαλὼν (ἡ δ' ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνταδελφή), etc. Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, No. 47, is therefore mistaken in stating that Anna died in 1300.

²⁰ Michael Panaretos, ed. by Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν*, IV (1907), p. 269.

²¹ W. Miller, *Trebizond* (London, 1926), p. 33, suggests that she was buried in the church of St. Gregory at Trebizond. This church, which was pulled down in 1863, had in its narthex portraits of John II and Eudocia: see Metropolitan Chrysanthos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησία Τραπεζοῦντος, Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου*, IV-V (Athens, 1936), p. 454f.

high) in the corner formed by the left-hand reveal of the arch and the back wall (Mango-Hawkins fig. 3: the letters have, once more, been touched up by us with pigment). On the reveal several lines of inscription are discernible reading as follows:²²

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-----
-- -- ἐξευμε --
-- -- ἀνθρωπ --
-- -- καθισ. . ο --
5 -- -- ον κρίναι
-- -- σταν κ(υρίο)υ τ(όν)
-- -- θερμ(όν)
-- -- προ. λ
-- -- ριμ
10 -----
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All this tells us is that the inscription was in verse. On the back wall are traces of a figure and, in the very corner, level with the first line of the inscription, are the following letters which were originally in red tesserae: -- -- νια (μον)αχ(ή). This, surely, was the monastic name of Theodora's daughter. The usual Byzantine practice was, upon taking vows, to assume a name starting with the same initial as one's baptismal name: thus, Irene would have chosen a name starting with an *epsilon*, Anna a name starting with an *alpha*. Checking through the very full list of saints contained in Delehaye's edition of the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion, we have found, under the initial A, only one name ending in -νια, viz. Ἀντωνία, a variant of Ἀντωνίνα; whereas, under the initial E, we encounter the favorite monastic name Εὐγενία.²³ This, then does not solve the problem of identification; in view of the historical data given above we are, however, inclined to attribute the tomb to Anna, the second daughter of the Empress Theodora.

SURVEY OF SCULPTURE

Reused Sculpture of the Fifth Century

These are a group of four impost capitals, some provided with Ionic volutes, that have been cut in half, each of the eight halves being used to surmount the pilaster responds in the central square of the north church (Diagram facing p. 304, Nos. 1–8).²⁴ Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 8 are hidden by the great Turkish arches of cut stone, so that we have been able to expose only their short sides (cf. Mango-Hawkins fig. 4). It would seem that the following pairs made up the original

²² For a previous attempt to transcribe this inscription see F. Dirimtekin in *Ayasfoya Müzesi Yıllığı*, No. 2 (1960), p. 44.

²³ Thus, Irene, the wife of John VI Cantacuzenus, was renamed Eugenia when she took the veil: Cantacuzenus, III, p. 307; Gregoras, III, p. 243.

²⁴ When these capitals were reused in the tenth century, their amputated sides were masked with brickwork so that only the front faces were left exposed.

capitals: 1-7, 2-8, 3-4, 5-6. Their height varies from 0.40 to 0.45 m.; their width from 0.95 to 1.08 m. at the top and from 0.50 to 0.55 m. at the base.

The decoration of the impost blocks comprises a leaf of "fine-toothed" or "Theodosian" acanthus at each corner, while the sides are filled with upright or swirling shoots of either soft acanthus or "large-toothed" spiky acanthus. Each capital is, however, a little different. The closest parallel to these capitals is to be found in the apse of Basilica A at Nea Anchialos,²⁵ and there are related examples at St. Demetrius²⁶ and St. Sophia,²⁷ Salonica; while not securely dated, these are regarded as belonging to the second half of the fifth century.²⁸

Tenth-Century Sculpture

The church of Constantine Lips offers us what is perhaps the most outstanding collection of middle-Byzantine architectural sculpture. It is remarkable both by its profusion and by its quality. On the average, middle-Byzantine church sculpture plays a very secondary role, being limited to capitals, door lintels and sometimes a single cornice at the springing line of the arches. The richest carving was reserved for the iconostasis which, however, has disappeared in the majority of cases. By contrast, the church of Constantine Lips had a wealth of carved ornament both inside and out. The quality of this decoration is also unique. An endless variety of motifs is employed—highly stylized palmettes and "bouquets" of different forms, fleurons, stars, crosses, etc.—all of which, however, have a strong family resemblance that confers a sense of unity on the decoration as a whole. The style of carving is particularly crisp: the projecting elements tend to form sharp ridges, their sides being carefully smoothed down to the flat background upon which the forward contours of the motifs are repeated. The leaves and stems of the different motifs often form little swirls, the centers of which are accentuated with drill holes. What is, however, most noteworthy, given the general mediocrity of Byzantine sculpture is that the carved ornament was planned with proper regard to the position it occupies in the building. Thus, the dome cornice, which is farthest away from the spectator, has higher relief than any of the other sculpture. The upper cornices have more overhang than the lower cornice. The art of Fenari Isa is not only uncommonly meticulous and inventive: it also shows an uncommon degree of premeditation.

Prof. André Grabar has recently defined the stylistic traits of the decorative art of Fenari Isa and has shown that its range of motifs, despite their deceptively Oriental appearance, is derived from Byzantine models of the sixth century.²⁹ He has also made some telling comparisons with the contemporary decoration, both carved and ceramic, of the monuments of Preslav as well as

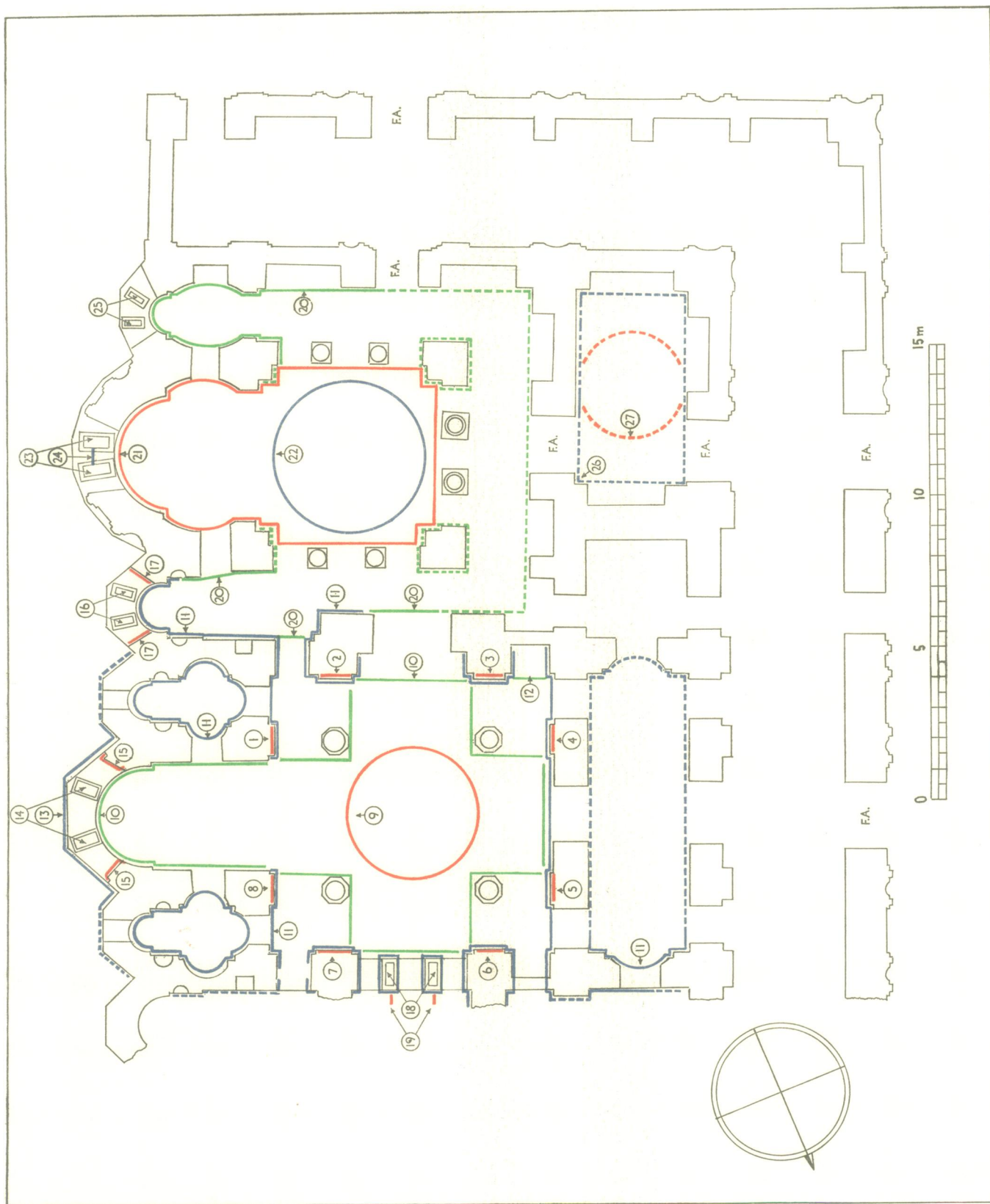
²⁵ G. A. Soteriou, *Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Θῆβαι τῆς Θεσσαλίας*, Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. (1929), p. 67, figs. 73, 74.

²⁶ O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 171, fig. 100; G. A. and M. G. Soteriou, *Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἀγ. Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1952), pp. 164, 168, pls. 38b, 42b.

²⁷ Diehl, Le Tourneau, and Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris, 1918), pl. XLIII.

²⁸ Cf. R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936), p. 168 ff., pl. 33, nos. 546-7, pl. 34, no. 548.

²⁹ *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople* (Paris, 1963), p. 100 ff.



Fenari Isa Camii. Diagram.

Numbers on Diagram refer to Bold-face Numbers in Text

with ornaments used in manuscripts as, e.g., in the "Leo Bible" (*Cod. Vat. Reg. Svec.*, 1) of the first half of the tenth century. These comparisons dispel whatever doubts may have lingered³⁰ concerning the tenth-century date of the Fenari Isa sculptures.

In the survey that follows we shall be concerned with the sculptures that remain *in situ*, as well as with some of the loose fragments that were brought to light during the restoration of the monument undertaken by the Byzantine Institute. The reader is referred to Macridy's text for an account of the carved pieces found in 1929, which are now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Even a cursory examination reveals the extraordinary variety of Macridy's sculpture finds, and tempts one to speculate on the original destination of these different fragments. Some of them certainly belonged to the main iconostasis and other items of liturgical furniture; others were used as parapet or closure slabs and (see *infra*) for wall revetment. Some of the fragments probably fell down from the roof chapels. It should be possible to determine the original use of some, at least, of Macridy's fragments, but in order to do so each piece ought to be examined individually and related to the spaces into which it may have fitted. We are not at present prepared to undertake this time-consuming investigation, and shall content ourselves with one or two observations prompted by Grabar's stimulating study.

1. The iconostasis that closed off the bema was 3.63 m. wide and therefore could have had only three intercolumniations, each about 1 m. wide. In other words, it could have contained only two closure slabs, one on each side of the central door. Now, Grabar makes the very plausible suggestion that the peacock slab (Macridy fig. 41)³¹ belonged to the iconostasis;³² but then he goes on to find two further slabs which, in his opinion, fulfilled the same purpose: the two latter (a matching pair) are decorated with Iranian dragons and are exhibited in the Byzantine room of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul; in the past they have been thought to be either Sasanian or Seljuk.³³ We fully agree with Grabar that the dragon slabs are Byzantine and that they are probably of the tenth century; but even if they came from Fenari Isa (which we do not know), they could not have been the closure slabs of the iconostasis if the peacock slab also served as such.

2. The inlaid icons, of which a great many fragments were discovered by Macridy, may have been used in part to decorate the roof chapels. Grabar, too, envisages this possibility, but he seems to prefer another alternative, viz., that they were set into the entablature of the main iconostasis.³⁴ The latter interpretation is invalidated by the following arguments: A. The rather haphazard collection of saints represented in the inlaid icons—St. Eudocia, St.

³⁰ As a result of Kollwitz's study in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XLII (1934), p. 239ff.

³¹ Note that the fragments of the peacock slab have been incorrectly mounted. The two pieces in the upper left hand corner of Macridy figure 41 are surely the bottom part of the wings.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

³³ Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures*, II (1914), p. 579ff., Nos. 790-1.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 110f. He concludes that "on devrait même y voir les exemples les plus anciens connus d'icônes d'iconostases (probablement fixées sur l'architrave)."

Nazarius,³⁵ St. Gregory Thaumaturgos (?), as well as a saint on horseback—seems inappropriate for the main iconostasis. Known specimens of entablatures decorated with medallion icons, either incised or in relief (there are some particularly fine ones in the museum of Afyon Karahisar), depict the Deisis, the two archangels and the apostles.³⁶ B. The icons of Fenari Isa were of at least two shapes, round and rectangular. Among the rectangular ones, the only complete specimen, the icon of St. Eudocia, is 66 cm. high—too large to have been set into the entablature of an iconostasis. C. The icons were executed in different techniques: some were flat, others in low relief. D. The icon of St. Eudocia, as Macridy points out (*supra*, p. 273), is slightly concave, which suggests that it was set into a curving surface, such as is offered by the interior of an apse. To judge by the degree of concavity, this would have had to be one of the larger apses on ground level. Some of the other inlaid icons might have come from the roof chapels; but they could not all have formed part of the same sequence, given the differences in format and technique.³⁷

The walls of the north church were, as usual, revetted with panels of colored marble. The skirting has survived in several places (Macridy figs. 11, 13): it is decorated with horizontal moldings, as was commonly done in the Late Antique period. The marble panels covering the walls were framed by thin partitions, indented on both sides so as to form strings of diamonds: several fragments of these partitions have been found by us. The panelling of the prothesis is of quite special interest. The little that has survived (Mango-Hawkins fig. 8) shows that the lower part of the walls was here revetted with narrow plaques of white marble that, above a height of 20 cm., were carved in low relief. Unfortunately, only a tiny part of the ornament—a star-shaped motif—remains; but this suggests the possibility that some of the pieces found by Macridy (Macridy figs. 42, 43) may also have been used for wall revetment.

The dome cornice (No. 9): An adequate idea of this splendid cornice is given by Macridy figures 16–18 and Mango-Hawkins figures 9, 10. The outer circumference is formed by a row of dentils. Six frontal eagles divide the carved ring into as many segments, each of which is further subdivided into two halves by a fleuron. The twelve resultant segments are decorated with repeats of three different “bouquets,” separated from one another by a little palmette. The depth of the relief is 3 cm., much deeper than in the other carvings, as befits the elevated position of the cornice. Incidentally, the ornamental division

³⁵ The companion of Gervasius, Protasius, and Celsius (cf. Delehay, *Synax. eccles. CP*, col. 137), not Azariah, one of the three Hebrews, as Grabar would have it (*op. cit.*, p. 110).

³⁶ In one among very few exceptions Sts. Macarius and Panteleemon appear alongside Christ, the apostles, and John the Baptist: *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua*, VI (1939), p. 122, pl. 62, no. 359.

³⁷ Another object which Grabar connects with our church is a column shaft (now in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul) covered with an over-all reticulated design that was originally inlaid with small plaques of colored marble (*op. cit.*, p. 112 and pl. LVIII, 2). This, however, was found at the Hebdomon and has therefore no connection with Fenari Isa: see R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris, 1945), p. 27f. and fig. 15. For the technique, cf. the inlaid bema columns of St. Euphemia by the Hippodrome: A. M. Schneider in *Arch. Anzeiger*, (1943), col. 265, fig. 6; and the plaque representing three apostles, inlaid in mastic, at the Byzantine Museum of Athens: *L'art byzantin. 9^e Exposition du Conseil de l'Europe* (Athens, 1964), No. 23.

of the dome cornice suggests that the drum of the dome was pierced by either six or twelve windows.

The cornice at the springing of the vaults (No. 10): This cornice defines the cruciform inner space of the church. Its profile projects sharply forward (overhang 36 cm.) as required by the height at which the cornice is placed. The outer surround is once more formed by a row of dentils, but over each dentil is superimposed a tiny palmette, and the palmettes are joined in pairs by means of curving stems. The little palmettes are, furthermore, in repeats of four different shapes (Mango-Hawkins fig. 14). A second line is formed by a bead and reel molding. The bevelled face of the cornice is decorated with a continuous zigzag which splits up the band into dovetailing triangles, each triangle being filled with a leaf, a palmette, a flower, a "leaved cross," or some other motif (Mango-Hawkins figs. 11, 12, 14). In the center of the apse is a device borrowed from the Early Christian repertory: a cross inside a circular wreath, flanked by two facing partridges (Mango-Hawkins fig. 12). A similar motif must have punctuated the middle of the three other arms of the cross formed by this cornice, as suggested by a fragment found in the course of our work (Mango-Hawkins fig. 13) which shows one of a pair of confronted peacocks. The peacock is seen in profile with its tail folded.^{37a}

The lowest cornice (No. 11): This marked the upper limit of the marble revetment, and ran round the entire interior of the nave, of the prothesis and diaconicon, the south outer chapel (it must have done the same in the north outer chapel which is no longer in existence), and the narthex. Being placed lower on the wall, its bevelled face is less inclined than that of the upper cornices (overhang 18 cm.). The ornament, which was painted red against a blue background, consists of alternating palmettes and crosses joined by curving stems (Mango-Hawkins fig. 15). An identical piece in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, acquired in 1913, is said to have come from the quarter of Çirçir at Istanbul.³⁸ At the end of the thirteenth century this cornice was reproduced in the south church (Nos. 20, 21).

A length of cornice (No. 12) has been reused over a low arch that was added in the thirteenth century in the southwest corner of the *naos* (Mango-Hawkins fig. 16). The piece is 1.58 m. long and 0.16 high. The decoration consists of palmettes alternating with petalled crosslets: compare, for the design, another piece of cornice of indeterminate location (Mango-Hawkins fig. 22: it bears on the back the funeral inscription No. 3, *infra*, p. 312), and the cornice in the window of the main apse (Mango-Hawkins fig. 21).

The mullions of the central apse (No. 14) are shown in Macridy figures 19 and 20,B. Their capitals (Mango-Hawkins figs. 17 and 18) are 0.36 m. high, 0.49 broad at the top and 1.12 deep, also at the top. They are decorated on the interior short side with two stylized eagles, hovering side by side with

^{37a} Cf. the relief of a peacock built into the minaret of Kilise Camii: Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, pl. iv.

³⁸ Mendel, *Catalogue*, III (1914), p. 534, No. 1326. The indication of provenance is not very clear: there is a Çirçir Caddesi a short distance east of the Fatih mosque, i.e., not very far from Fenari Isa.

outspread wings. Between the wings of the two eagles is placed a cross. The exterior short sides are unfortunately completely eroded. The decoration of the long sides is divided into two halves, with a plain patch down the middle against which the window frame fitted. There are two zones of ornament, a rinceau above and a series of "bouquets" below; the latter are echoed by the cornice affixed at the same level to the jambs of the apse window (*No. 15*: Mango-Hawkins fig. 21). The shaft of each mullion is cushioned both against the capital and against the base with a sheet of lead. The shaft is 2.83 m. high, 0.30 wide and 0.75 deep. The narrow side facing the interior bears a tall panel, 0.14 m. wide, containing an elaborate interlace design filled with leaves and crosses; below the carved panel is a kind of thistle with three heads. The base, 0.33 m. high, has a cross in the center, flanked by fantastic leaf forms: note in particular the floral motif on the long side of the base resembling a peacock with outspread tail (Mango-Hawkins fig. 19).

The mullions of the north window (*No. 18*) are nearly as richly decorated as those of the apse (Macridy fig. 20,A). The capitals, which are rather badly battered, have on their short sides, both inside and out, crosses flanked by floral motifs (Mango-Hawkins figs. 23, 25), while the long sides are decorated with a pair of W-shaped palmettes, one on each side of the window frame (Mango-Hawkins fig. 24). The shafts are adorned on the short interior side with alternating diamonds and roundels set against a deeply incised diapered pattern. Below this band of ornament is a "thistle" out of which sprout two ivy leaves. On the front of each base is a leaved cross between two W-shaped palmettes (Mango-Hawkins fig. 20), while a further palmette growing out of a pair of coiled stems occupies each side.

In line with the two mullions of the north window are the stumps of two corbels projecting from the north façade of the church (*No. 19*: Mango-Hawkins figs. 26, 27). They are 0.32 m. high and 0.20 m. wide. These corbels, which supported a causeway giving access to the northeast roof chapel (*supra*, p. 290), were originally longer: we have found some further fragments of them that had fallen to the ground (Mango-Hawkins figs. 28, 29). Their vertical sides are decorated with stylized "bouquets" similar to those of the dome cornice. These were placed, either in pairs or singly, within panels having a raised border.³⁹ The underside is decorated with a series of motifs obtained by superimposing an X or a cross over a fleuron: a similar motif is widely used in the ninth- or tenth-century mosaic decoration of the tympana of St. Sophia.⁴⁰

So far, the "idiom" of the carved decoration has been consistent; it changes, however, in the apse of the south outer chapel. The capitals of the mullions (*No. 16*: Mango-Hawkins fig. 30) have two zones of ornament: the lower zone is a rinceau on the long sides of the capital and a cross flanked by two leaves on the interior, short side; the upper zone is a row of upright acanthus leaves,

³⁹ It may be suggested that there were five "bouquets" along each vertical side: a double panel, a single panel (Mango-Hawkins fig. 29), and then a double panel again. If this is so, then the total projection of the corbels would have been *ca.* 1.40 m.

⁴⁰ Cf. C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia* (Washington, D.C., 1962), figs. 59, 60, 65, etc.

of a kind very common in middle-Byzantine decoration, and this is taken up in the cornice which marks the springing of the arches on the outer jambs of the triple window (*No. 17*: Mango-Hawkins fig. 33). The shafts of the mullions have a molded neck; their short, interior sides are decorated with a vertical band of trefoils placed one on top of the other (Mango-Hawkins fig. 30), while the exterior, short sides have diapered bands which, whether by design or oversight, are of different width on the two mullions (Mango-Hawkins figs. 31, 32). The bases are plain.

Also of tenth-century date are the mullions that were reused in the apse of the diaconicon of the south church (*No. 25*: Mango-Hawkins fig. 34). Their capitals were whittled down in the thirteenth century and made almost wedge-shaped (outside width 0.31 m., inside width 0.18). The short, interior sides were then decorated with a "plaited" cross (Mango-Hawkins fig. 36). In the four quarters between the arms of the cross are the initials Φ(ῶς) Χ(ριστοῦ) ϕ(αίνει) π(ᾶσι). The field may have been inlaid with metal plates, to judge by a number of drill holes which seem to have been used for attachment. The shafts of the mullions (Mango-Hawkins fig. 35) have preserved their tenth-century decoration which, on the exterior, consists of a vertical band of palmettes. At the very top of the shaft is a little shield containing a cross. A similar shield is repeated on the interior side. The bases (Mango-Hawkins fig. 37) are actually inverted tenth-century capitals with a cross between two leaves.

A carved slab, reused as a tread in the staircase leading up to the minaret, is also of tenth-century date (Mango-Hawkins fig. 38). It is 0.71 m. long, 0.32 wide, and 0.10 thick. The decoration consisted of a series of lozenges, with a palmette growing out of each corner. A matching piece is illustrated by Macridy, figure 43.

The Thirteenth-Century Decoration

The carved ornament of Empress Theodora's church is far removed from the standard of excellence set by the tenth-century decoration. The characteristics we have observed in the latter—the somewhat academic precision of the design, the crispness of the carving, the high finish of the surfaces—give way to faltering lines and sloppy execution. Whereas the sculptor of the tenth century used ruler and compass, his successor of the thirteenth worked free-hand and very often was content to rough out a pattern without bothering to smooth away the unevenness of the surface (cf. Mango-Hawkins fig. 45). This inattention to detail is, incidentally, also a feature of the highly interesting figural sculpture of the same period as, for example, the archivolt with the busts of the apostles (Macridy figs. 32–39) or the capital from Fethiye Camii (see *infra*, p. 331f. and figs. 26–29).

It is noteworthy that Theodora's architect should have made an effort, as he did, to bring the decoration of the new church into harmony with that of the old. He chose for imitation the simplest of the tenth-century cornices (*No. 11*) which he continued on the same level round the entire interior of the

south church (*No. 20*), and he repeated the same cornice at a higher level, viz., at the springing of the arches supporting the dome, to outline the central square and the main apse (*No. 21*). The differences between original and imitation are readily discernible in Mango-Hawkins figure 39, where the first block from the left is of the tenth century and the others of the thirteenth. It will be seen that the spacing of the motifs is looser in the later work, that the palmettes instead of branching as from a vertical stem, spring from a central point to create a fan-like form, that the loops connecting the motifs lose their resilience and tend to sag. The quality of carving is also different: the forward outlines of the design are not reflected in the background, as they are in the original work; the background has been merely scooped out.

The dome cornice (*No. 22*) consists of an undulating vine rinceau that grows out of a vase placed over the center of the eastern arch (Mango-Hawkins fig. 40). Attached to the stem of the vine are bunches of grapes and stylized leaves, the latter being visibly inspired by the tenth-century palmettes (Mango-Hawkins fig. 41). The leaves and fruit were originally painted red and the background blue; the concave molding running along the base of the cornice was also painted red. Unlike the tenth-century cornices, this one has a cyma recta profile; it is 15.5 cm. high and has an overhang of 14 cm. The carving is only 1.5 cm. deep. On the western side a large segment of the cornice has broken away.

The mullions in the window of the central apse (*No. 23*) are made up of reused material. The shafts are probably of the sixth century, to judge by the tall crosses set on globes that decorated their exterior sides (Mango-Hawkins fig. 42). These crosses have been hacked away, probably in the Turkish period. The capitals, carved in the thirteenth century, are decorated on the outside with rather characterless leaves. The bases are made of inverted impost blocks of much earlier date. Between the two mullions is a carved closure slab (*No. 24*) decorated on the outside with a crudely executed cross on a stepped base (Mango-Hawkins fig. 43). On the inside of the slab there is once more a cross on a stepped base and two palmettes of tenth-century inspiration in the upper corners (Mango-Hawkins fig. 44). A small fragment of a similar closure slab has been found in the course of our work (Mango-Hawkins fig. 45).

The cornice of the narthex (*No. 26*) was made by fitting together reused pieces of at least four different designs, to judge by what little has been preserved along the east wall of the narthex. All four designs consist of stylized acanthus leaves and are of routine character (Mango-Hawkins fig. 46). The cornice of the narthex dome (*No. 27*) has now entirely disappeared, but fortunately it has been recorded by Macridy (Macridy figs. 49, 50).

CERAMIC TILES

We should like to add a few words to Macridy's short account of the fragments of glazed ceramic tiles found in the course of his excavations (these are now kept in the depot of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, in box No.

368). Although it cannot be proved, there is a strong presumption that these fragments pertain to the original decoration of the north church, and if this is so, they acquire the additional importance of being the only dated specimens among many similar finds made in Istanbul.⁴¹ All of the Fenari Isa tiles are narrow rectangles with either flat or convex surfaces. They are unusually thin (4 to 6 mm.) and are made of a fine white paste. The colors used are black, dark green, turquoise, and yellow, the designs being outlined in black. As may be seen from Mango-Hawkins figures 47-57, at least fifteen different designs were used, a few of which recur in other Constantinopolitan finds. Thus, the narrow strips with roundels which come in two color combinations (Mango-Hawkins fig. 54), have also been found in the vicinity of the Hippodrome.⁴² The tongue-and-dart motif (Mango-Hawkins fig. 56 upper left-hand fragment, and Mango-Hawkins fig. 55) also occurs in the Hippodrome,⁴³ between Saint Sophia and Saint Irene,⁴⁴ and in fragments of Constantinopolitan origin at the Louvre,⁴⁵ at the museum of Faenza,⁴⁶ etc. The crescent design (Mango-Hawkins figs. 49, 50) has been found in the basilica of Topkapı Palace.⁴⁷ Of particular interest with regard to the problem of the origin of Byzantine tile decoration are the few black-and-white fragments bearing a stylized imitation of Cufic script (Mango-Hawkins fig. 53),⁴⁸ the only ones to our knowledge among the tile finds of Constantinople that have an Oriental, not a classicizing, decoration.

The tiles of Fenari Isa were not meant to cover large areas of wall space, but were clearly intended as borders or frames. They were mounted on stucco moldings of which one small fragment has survived (Mango-Hawkins fig. 58), showing that strips of flat and convex tiles were lined up side by side: the convex element of the molding fits exactly the tile shown in Mango-Hawkins figure 47.

ANTIQUE FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

Macridy has noted the presence of one antique inscription which was re-carved in the tenth century (*supra*, p. 265 and Macridy fig. 45). Several others have been found by us in the course of the restoration of the monument. They are all fragmentary, but a few of them are not devoid of interest. It would appear that the church of Constantine Lips was built upon the site or in the vicinity of a cemetery dating from the Imperial Roman period, thus offering a convenient quarry of marble blocks for reuse in the construction of the church. The cemeteries of ancient Byzantium were naturally situated outside

⁴¹ For a recent survey of the subject, see D. Talbot Rice in *Cahiers archéologiques*, VII (1954), p. 69ff., who in pl. xxv, 2, reproduces a few fragments from Fenari Isa.

⁴² *Second Report upon the Excavations carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928* (London, 1929), fig. 39.

⁴³ D. Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, pl. xxvii, 1.

⁴⁴ F. Dirimtekin in *Cahiers archéologiques*, XIII (1962), p. 181 and fig. 24.

⁴⁵ E. Coche de la Ferté, *ibid.*, IX (1957), p. 210 and fig. 13e.

⁴⁶ Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines*, pl. LX. 4.

⁴⁷ Mrs. E. S. Ettinghausen in *Cahiers archéologiques*, VII (1954), p. 85 and pl. xxxiv, 2.

⁴⁸ Further examples of Cufesque ornament in Byzantine polychrome pottery are quoted by Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 119, and by Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 75, but they are on fragments of plates or bowls.

Line 3. For τέχνη = "guild" and the epithet ἱερός applied to professional associations, see F. Poland, *Gesch. d. griech. Vereinswesens* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 122, 169; L. Robert, *Hellenica*, XI/XII (1960), p. 26. Both quote τέχνη τῶν λιθουργῶν in an inscription from Perinthus.



A. Antique Funerary Inscription

4. Marble slab re-used in the north church to form part of the sill of the south window opening of the main apse (Mango-Hawkins fig. A). Height 0.50 m., width 0.92 m. Height of letters 0.03 m., interlinear spaces 0.02 m. Following the insertion of new window grilles, this and the following inscription have been covered up. For the transcription of both of them we are indebted to Mr. A. H. S. Megaw.

Ὑπό[μνημα]

--- -κ]ατεσσεύασεν (*sic*) ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ γλυκυτάτ[ω] ---

--- - μάφ καὶ Ἀσκληπιოდότῳ, τοῖς δὲ λ[οιποῖς] etc.

--- - εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον (*sic*), δώσει τῇ ἱερᾷ τέχνῃ τῶν λ[ευκουργῶν] or λιθοξῶν etc.

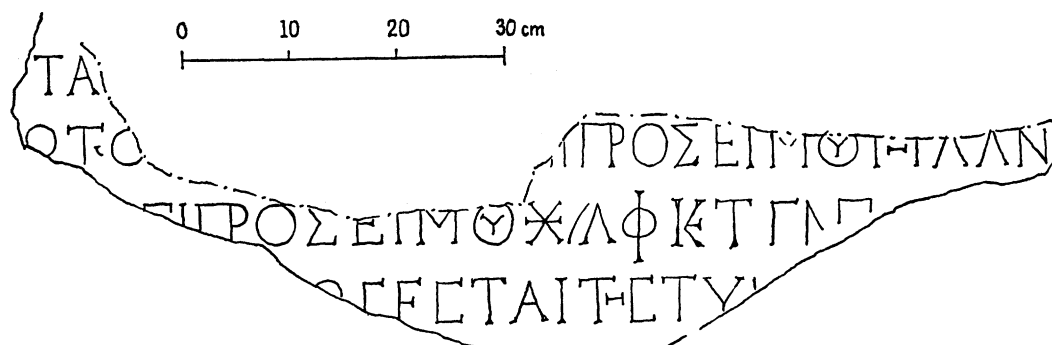
5. Same location. The inscribed slab (Mango-Hawkins fig. B) has been inserted under the base of the south mullion. Total height, including concealed part, *ca.* 0.50 m.; width 0.98 m. Height of letters 0.04 m., interlinear spaces 0.03 m.

ΤΑ -----

ΟΤΟ - *ca.* 9 letters - προσ[τ]είμου τῇ ΛΑΝ --

-- ? δώσ]ει προσ[τ]είμου (δηνάρια) ,αφ' κ(αι) τ -----

----- ος ἔσται τῆς τυ -----



B. Antique Funerary Inscription

6. North church, marble block recarved for cornice above fifth-century capital No. 1 (Mango-Hawkins fig. 62). Preserved width 1.30 m., height 0.38 m. Height of letters 0.05 m., interlinear spaces 0.03 m.

--- τοὺς δ] ἐ λοιποὺς ἀπαγορε[ύω· εἰ δέ
τις τολμήσ]ει ἕτερον καταθέσθαι δώσει
τῇ] Κυλικηνῶν πόλι (δηνάρια) leaf ,βφ', κ[αὶ
τῷ δεῖνι] (δηνάρια) ,αφ' leaf

For the formula, see *supra*, No. 2.

7. Marble slab (Mango-Hawkins fig. 63) recarved for cornice in the diaconicon of the north church. Preserved width 0.58 m., height 0.41 m. Height of letters 0.04 m., interlinear spaces 0.01 to 0.015 m.

----- σαν -----
----- μηδ]ενὶ ἑτέρῳ -----
εἰς το]ῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον -----
δώσει ἰς τὸ κυριακ[ὸν ταμεῖον τόσον καὶ εἰς τὸ]
5 ἐνπόριον *rasura* τοῦ [δεῖνος τόσον· τούτου τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέ-]
θη ἐν τῷ γραμματο[φυλακίῳ -----
leaf KONH
χαῖρ[ε or χαίρετε , etc.

Line 5. For ἐμπόριον = market-center of a district, see Robert, *Hellenica*, II (1946), p. 135f. Another instance of a fine prescribed to be paid to an ἐμπόριον: *CIG*, 7019.

8. North church, marble slab reused in the sill of the apse window of the diaconicon (Mango-Hawkins fig. 64). Height of letters 0.03 m.

----- ἰον σκυτέα

9. Marble slab, reused in the cornice of the south outer chapel of the north church (Mango-Hawkins fig. 65). Preserved width 0.45 m., height 0.20 m. Height of letters 0.045 m., interlinear spaces 0.03 m.

 --- ω μή βουλοίμ[ην] ---
vac. ξείνον -----

10. Marble slab, same location as *No. 2*. Preserved width 0.43 m., height 0.33 m.
 Height of letters 0.055 m., interlinear spaces 0.025 m.

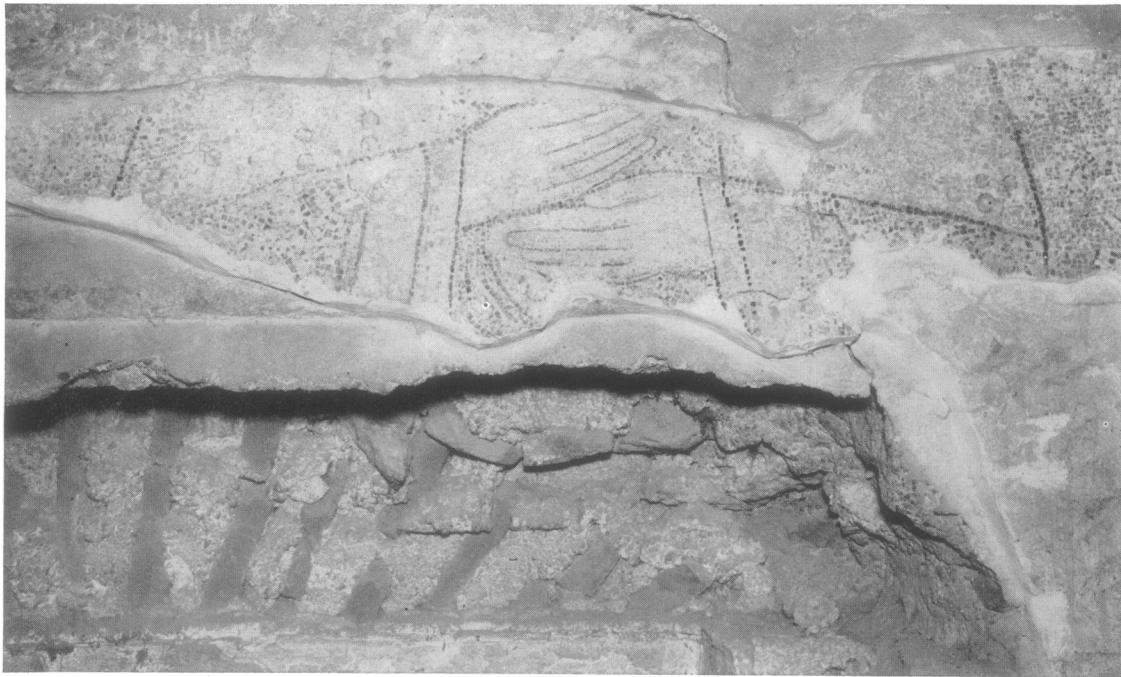
---- ενον βίον ----
vac. Ε *vac.* Τ *vac.*
 -- ρς κατὰ -----
 -- τ -----

Line 1. Of the last letter only a *hasta* remains.

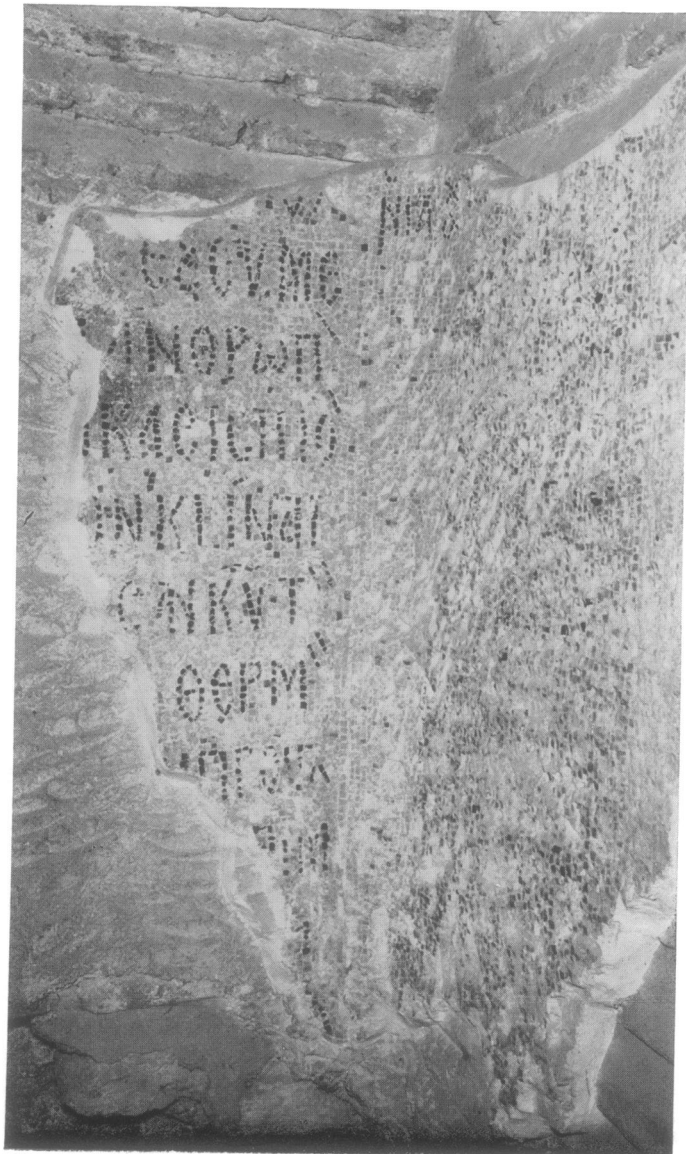
Line 4. There is a *hasta* before the τ.



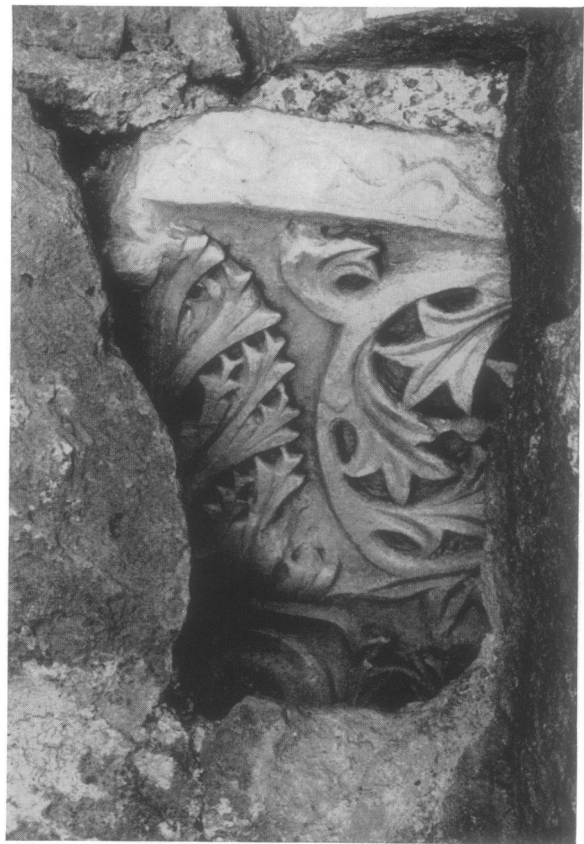
1. Fenari Isa Camii, North Church. The Founder's Inscription



2. South Church, South Aisle, East Niche. Remnants of Mosaic Figure



3. South Church, South Aisle, West Niche.
Remnants of Mosaic Inscription



4. North Church, Reused Fifth-century Capital



5.



6.



7.

Fenari Isa Camii, North Church, Reused Fifth-century Capitals



8. Prothesis, Remains of Wall Revetment



9. Dome Cornice, detail



10. Fragment of Dome Cornice



11. Fragment of Upper Cornice

North Church



12. Apse, detail of Upper Cornice



13. Fragment of Upper Cornice



14. Apse, detail of Upper Cornice



15. Lower Cornice



16. Nave, Southwest Corner, reused Cornice
North Church



17. Side View

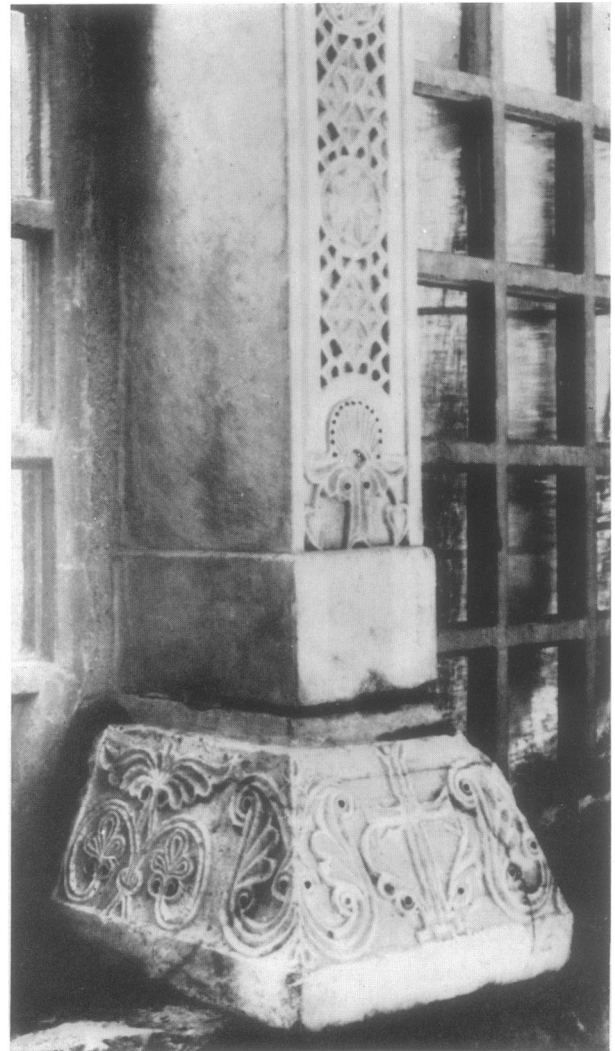


18. Front View

Apse, Capitals of Mullions



19. Apse, Shaft and Base of Mullion

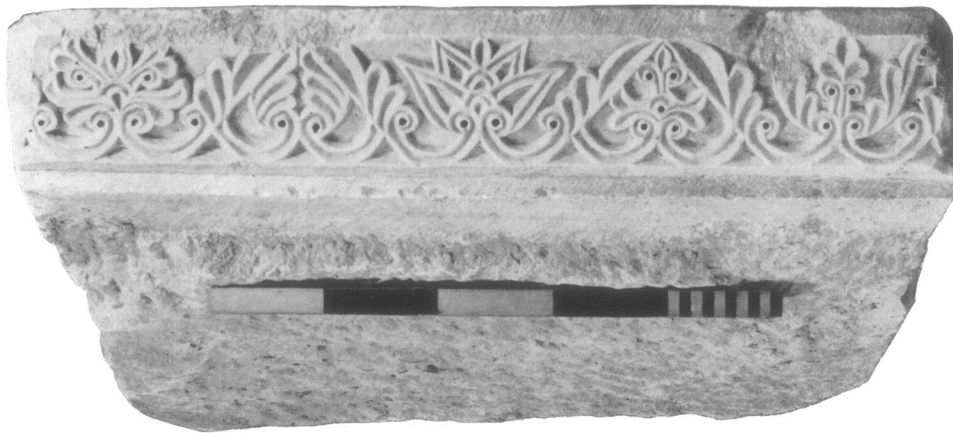


20. North Window, Shaft and Base of Mullion

North Church



21. Apse Window, Cornice



22. Fragment of Cornice



23. Interior Front View



24. Interior Side View

North Window, Capital of Mullion

North Church



25. North Window, Capital of Mullion,
Exterior View



26. Exterior North Façade, Corbel



27. Exterior North Façade, Corbel



28. Fragment of Corbel



29. Fragment of Corbel



30. Mullion in Apse



31. Apse, Shaft of
South Mullion



32. Apse, Shaft of
North Mullion



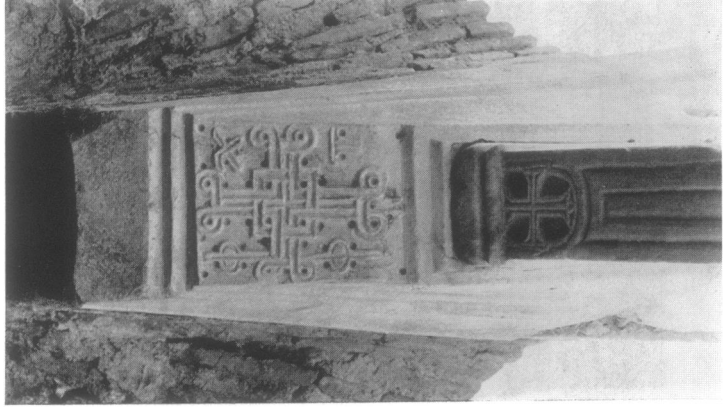
33. Apse Window, Cornice
North Church, South Outer Chapel



34. Over-all View



35. Detail of Shaft



36. Capital



37. Base

South Church, Diaconicon, Mullion in Apse



38. Carved Slab reused in Staircase of Minaret



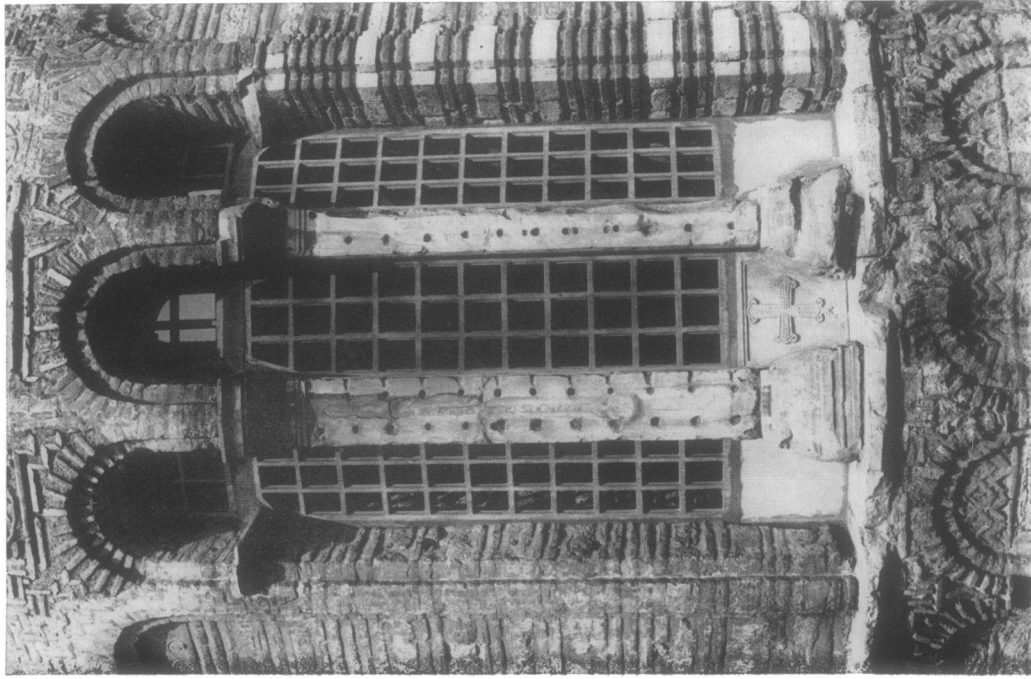
39. North Church, South Outer Chapel, Cornice



40. South Church, Dome Cornice, detail



41. South Church, Dome Cornice, detail



42. Central Apse, Exterior View



43. Closure Slab seen from Outside



44. Closure Slab seen from Inside

Central Apse



45. Fragment of Closure Slab

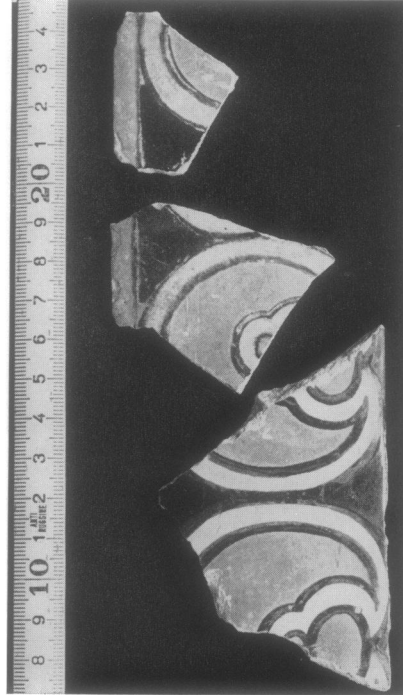


46. Narthex, Remnants of Cornice

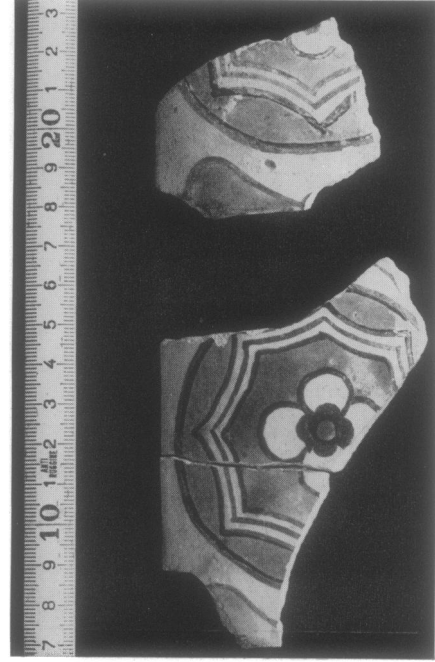
South Church



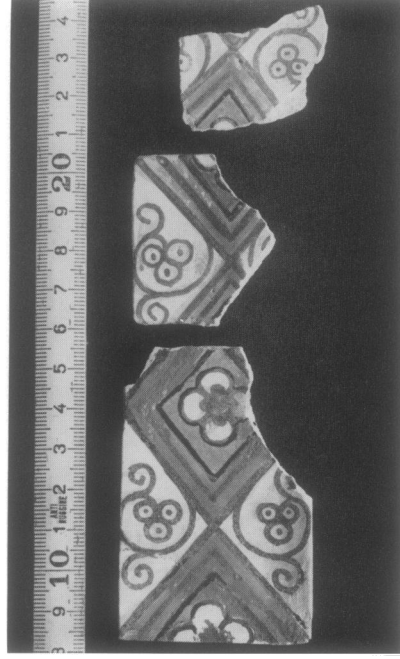
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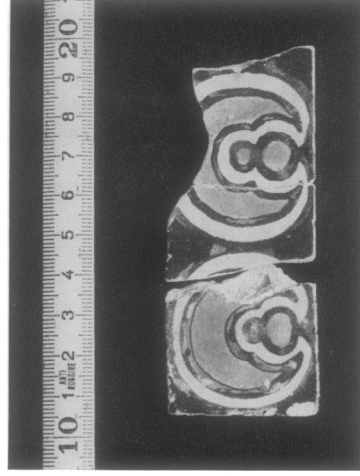
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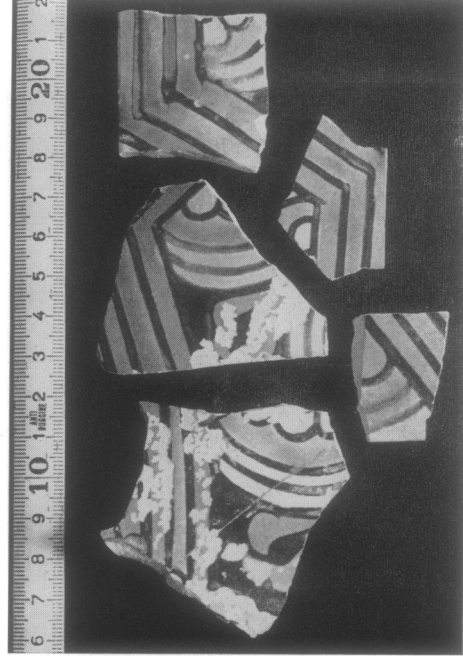
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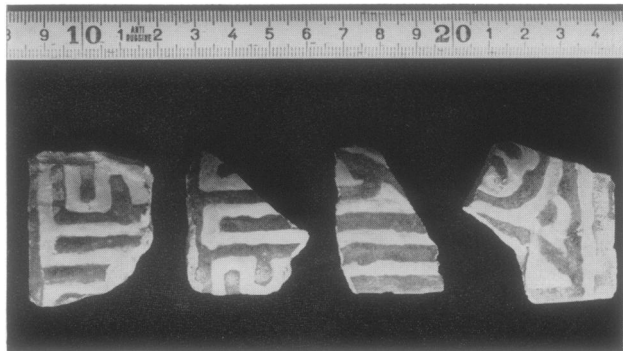


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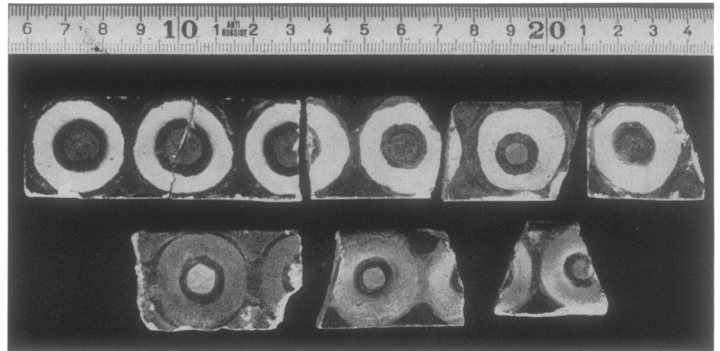


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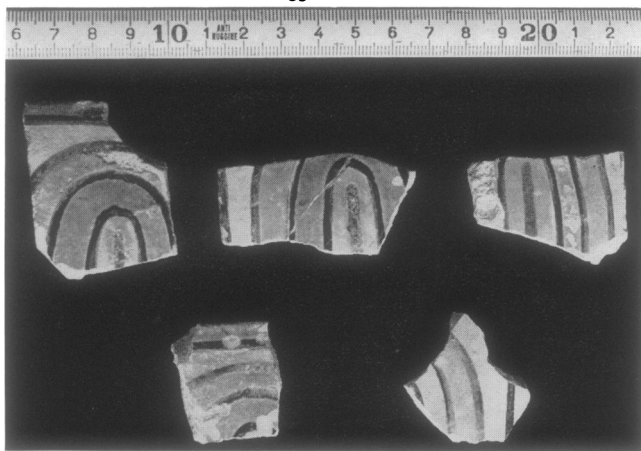
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Fragments of Glazed Tiles



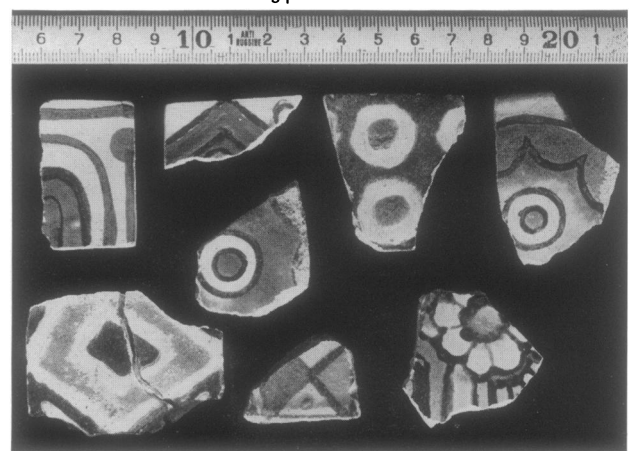
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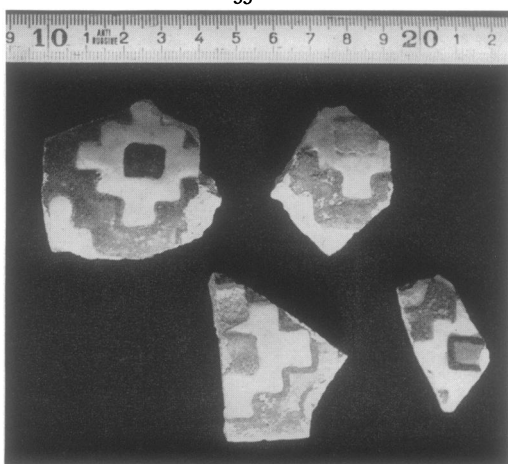
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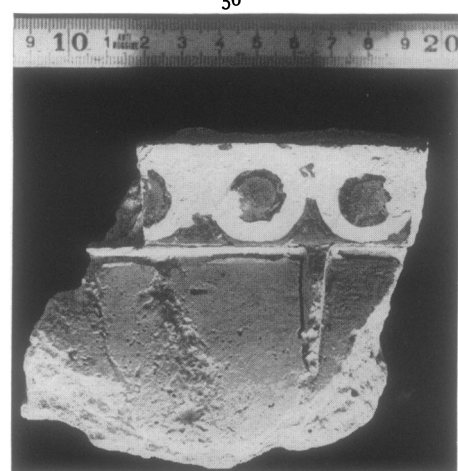
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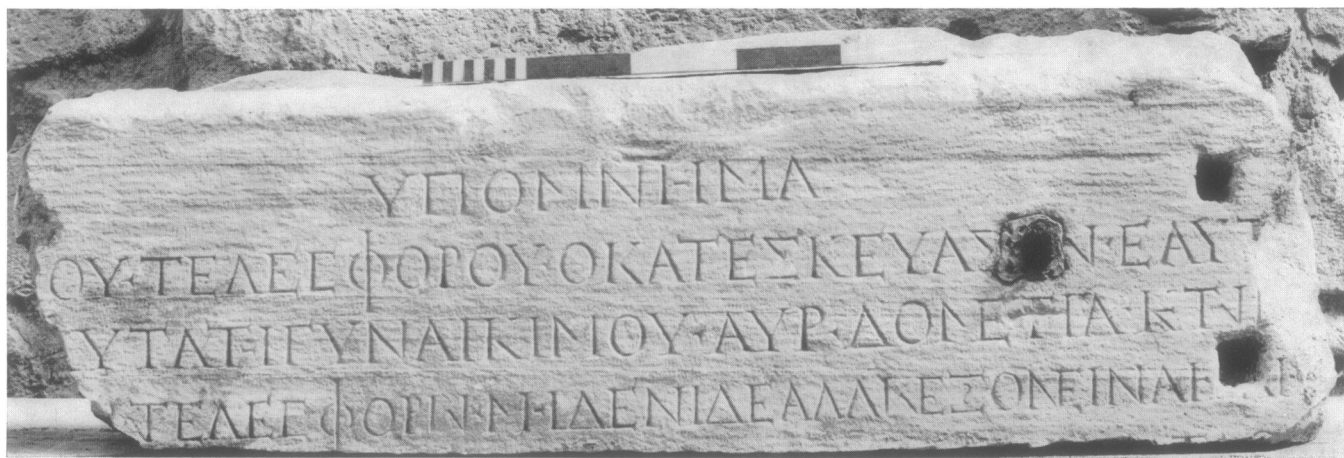


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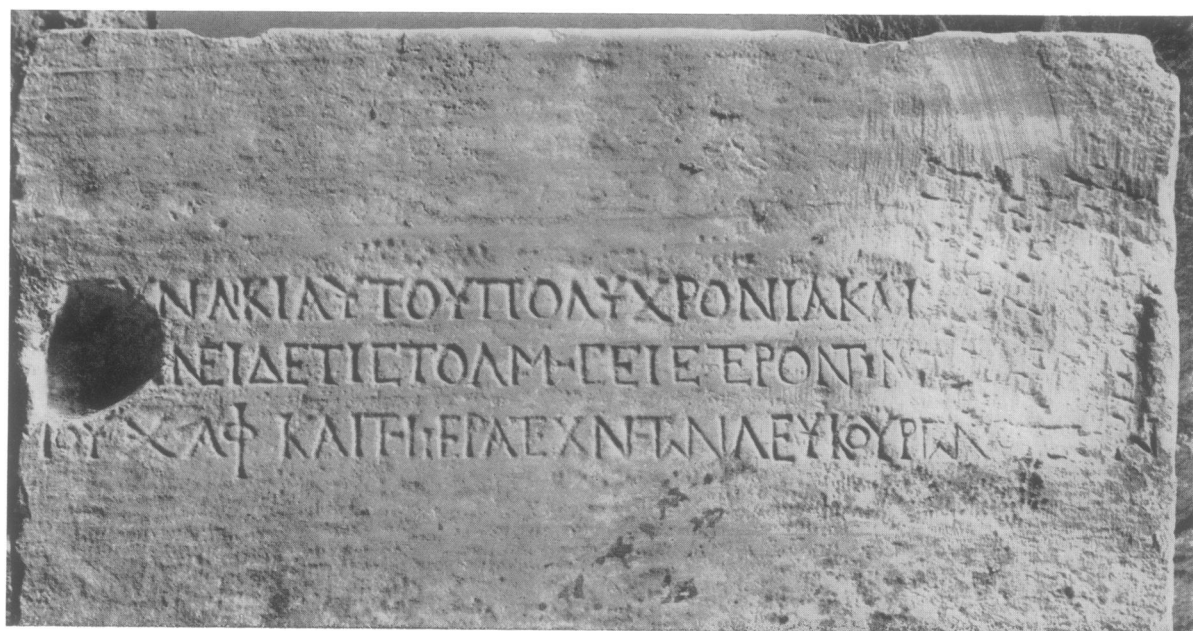
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum. Fragments of Glazed Tiles



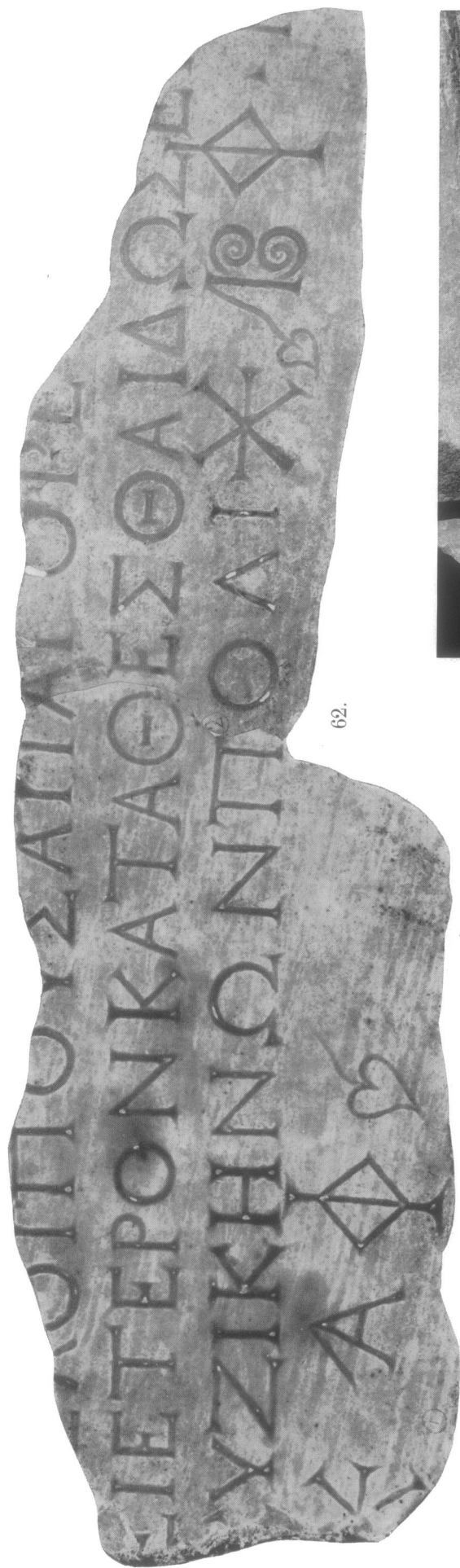
59.



60.



61.



62.



64.



63.



65.